

Tilburg University

Understanding the future of fatherhood

Hochschild, A.R.

Publication date:
1994

Document Version
Publisher's PDF, also known as Version of record

[Link to publication in Tilburg University Research Portal](#)

Citation for published version (APA):
Hochschild, A. R. (1994). *Understanding the future of fatherhood: The "daddy hierarchy" and beyond.* (WORC Paper). WORC, Work and Organization Research Centre.

General rights

Copyright and moral rights for the publications made accessible in the public portal are retained by the authors and/or other copyright owners and it is a condition of accessing publications that users recognise and abide by the legal requirements associated with these rights.

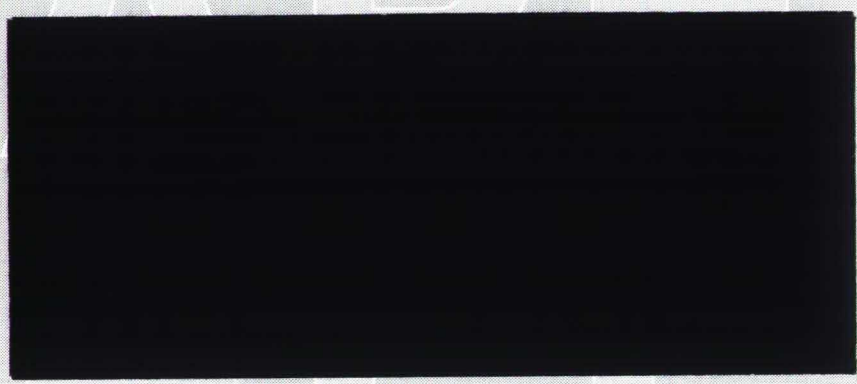
- Users may download and print one copy of any publication from the public portal for the purpose of private study or research.
- You may not further distribute the material or use it for any profit-making activity or commercial gain
- You may freely distribute the URL identifying the publication in the public portal

Take down policy

If you believe that this document breaches copyright please contact us providing details, and we will remove access to the work immediately and investigate your claim.

CBM
958R
1994-20
9585
1994
NR.20

UNIVERSITY
SLIDE
UNIVERSITÄT
BRUNNEN



Rub
v. fatherhood
t. families
t. government policy
g. usa

PAPER

**Understanding The Future of Fatherhood:
The "Daddy Hierarchy" and Beyond**

Arlie Russell Hochschild

WORC PAPER 94.05.020/6

Paper prepared for the Conference on Changing Fatherhood,
WORC, Tilburg University, The Netherlands

May 24 - 26, 1994

**WORC papers have not been subjected to formal review or approach.
They are distributed in order to make the results of current research
available to others, and to encourage discussions and suggestions.**

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

This paper was written for the Conference on Changing Fatherhood,
WORC, Tilburg University, The Netherlands, May 24, 1994

Arlie Russell Hochschild
University of California, Berkeley

Understanding The Future of Fatherhood: The "Daddy Hierarchy" and Beyond

Arlie Russell Hochschild

WORC, Tilburg University, The Netherlands

Keywords: fatherhood, future, policy

In her memoir, *Sweet Summer*, Bebe Moore Campbell describes a conversation between four African American girls growing up in the urban middle-class in the 1950's. Their fathers had divorced their mothers, but to varying degrees the girls were still "daddies' girls." Comparing their dads to a prior image of a "good dad" in a "good family" in their time and place, they located them as higher or lower on a "daddy hierarchy." The children presumed the presence and emotional involvement of their mothers for, although mothers varied in these regards, they varied less than dads. At the top of the girls' list was the daddy of a little white girl who spent time with her and built her a beautiful doll's house. In the middle were daddies present but preoccupied repairing broken cars, or dads who loved their children but spanked them too hard. At the bottom were daddies who disappeared from their children's lives altogether (1).

In this paper I look at present social trends in the United States to see what light they shed on the future of fatherhood in the U.S., and perhaps elsewhere. I shall try to make five points. First, the value expressed in the "daddy hierarchy" -- a value children themselves are most likely to uphold -- increasingly corresponds to men's ideals of "manhood." This is the good news. As an ideal "the new father," a nurturant, involved father, is here, and I believe this ideal will grow more prominent in the future. But second, this ideal is in tension with other emergent ideals. For, ironically, the same social trends that have pressed for the ideal of the "new father" have pressed, to a lesser extent, against it. Each ideal, I shall argue, also corresponds to a conception of emotional capital which older people convey to younger. Third, the reality of fatherhood, as Kathleen Gerson points out, is increasingly diversified --as breadwinner fathers are increasingly marginalized on one side by "the new father" and on the other by the "dead-beat dad."

This diversification of actual fatherhoods offers a wider role for choice, and calls for a more active "constructionist" stance toward culture (Giddens, 1991).

Fourth, the spread of the ideal of the new father, and the spread of an economic situation which makes him necessary are likely to increase the number of active fathers. But fifth, men may become more active fathers in a culture in which the quality of childhood is, in other ways, declining. I end with a series of policies that could push more men higher up the "daddy hierarchy" in a child-friendly culture.

Trends in Ideals: The New Father and The Alternatives

Forty years ago it was socially acceptable for a father to come home after work, pick up the newspaper, wait for dinner and play with his children when he felt like it. That was "good enough." Today, in addition to working for pay, a father is expected to attend the birth of his children, be an interested guide, an engaged friend and warm presence to his children at home (Cutright, 1986).

As an ideal in Western culture, the "new father" has come to challenge, (even as it often merges with) older notions of fatherhood that associate male honor with having a large number of children, (Sachs, 1994), earning money, wielding authority and apprenticing sons (2).

Any ideal of fathering, I suggest, corresponds to a certain transfer of resources from father to child. We can see these resources as various forms of capital -- for example, economic, cultural and emotional capital (Bourdieu, 1984). We can think of the "new father" ideal as the promise to transfer a form of emotional cultural capital from father to child (3).

Some children are "rich" and others "poor" in emotional capital. That is what the "daddy hierarchy" describes. Like material capital, paternal emotional involvement helps reproduce individual class standing. Insofar as social class is correlated to marital stability, and marital stability to fatherly involvement, emotional capital can become a means through which class reproduces itself. Insofar as social class is not related to marital stability or marital stability to a father's emotional investment in his children, emotional capital is its own thing. Whether

"emotional capital" is linked to, or independent of social class, the ideal of the involved father is an ideal sustaining the idea of emotional investment in one's progeny.

At the same time, the ideal of the "new father" is a contested ideal. Other systems of transfer of emotional capital -- by those who are not the biological father -- are proposed as equally beneficial to a child. Though the "emotional investment" from the biological father is still generally preferred, other sources of investment are increasingly acceptable and welcome.

Both the ideal of the new father and the alternatives to him are driven, ironically, by the same set of social trends. The rise in the number of working mothers, the rise in women's education, occupational status and relative income have led more women and children to want and need fathers to be more involved at home. At the same time, women's rise in power has permitted them to exit unhappy marriages or not enter them in the first place. The mother who is voluntarily single, lesbian mothers who conceive children through artificial insemination, women who have experienced physical, sexual or mental abuse, form part of a constituency for a value system alternative to that which posits the biological father as the only appropriate active social father. For different reasons, some fathers have joined this camp as well (Ehrenreich, 1983). According to this set of groups, the biological father is replaceable, his emotional investment a form of movable, or substitutable, capital. The "daddy hierarchy" is no longer a hierarchy with an "up" and a "down," but a set of socially equivalent alternative forms of parenting.

Trends in Reality: Diversity of Fatherhood

Parallel to the growing diversity in ideals is a diversity in the realities of fathering. The mainstream father as sole breadwinner is being edged out by the father as co-provider or primary but not only breadwinner. Moreover, this transition has been paralleled by the emergence of both the "new father," (who earns money and provides emotional care too) and the "dead beat dad" who provides neither (Gerson, 1993).

The new father has risen partly in response to the new mother. The new mother works, partly in response to the declining earning power of men, itself a result of the effect of global

competition on male jobs. Today, two out of three American mothers with preschool children work outside the home, and half of the mothers of children age one and under. Three-quarters of working mothers work full time. This trend has put pressure on husbands to pick up some of the family care which women have been forced to drop.

In my research on fifty 2-job couples in the San Francisco Bay Area, I found that one out of five working husbands were "new men" in the sense of fully sharing the care of the children and home and fully identifying them selves as men through this sharing (Hochschild 1989). In Michael Lamb's 1986 review of large-scale quantitative studies on fathering, he distinguishes between engagement (for example, feeding child, playing catch), accessibility (cooking in the kitchen while the child plays in the next room) and responsibility (being the one who makes sure the child gets what he or she needs).

Lamb notes that when their wives go out to work, men become more engaged and accessible but not more responsible for their children (Lamb, 1986, pp. 8, 11).

At the same time, other trends point in another direction. The rise in divorce and unwed pregnancies has become associated with weakened bonds between some fathers and children. The United States has the highest divorce rate in the world; half of marriages now end in divorce. (In Holland in 1980, one in four marriages ended in divorce.) This is important because 60 percent of divorces involve children, and because the bond between father and child turns out to be mediated by the bond between father and mother.

When strains develop between fathers and mothers, the bond between father and child often suffers. The proportion of children living with two parents has declined from 85 percent in 1970 to 72 percent in 1991. In his large scale study of children of divorce, Frank Furstenberg found that nearly half of the children had virtually no contact with the non-custodial parent (90 percent of whom were fathers) within the last year. One out of six had seen him as regularly as once a week (Furstenberg 1983) (4).

Fathers who lose touch with their children often retreat into what Judith Wallerstein so poignantly calls "phantom relationships" with their children, putting a photo of the child on an office desk, and thinking, "My child can call me any time he wants" (Wallerstein 1989). Such fathers imagine a relationship at one end that a child does not feel at the other.

In addition, based on the National Survey of Children, James Peterson and Nicholas Zill were able to compare the relationship of children (aged 12 to 16) with their parents as this varied according to different types of family situations. Even among children living with both biological or adoptive parents, a scant 55 percent had positive relations with both parents. (Among these intact families, the proportion was 62 percent for marriages with a low amount of conflict, and 20 percent for a minority with "high persistent conflict"). Of children living only with their mothers, 25 percent had good relations with both parents. Of children living with just their fathers, 36 percent had good relations with both parents perhaps because the mothers stay more involved (Peterson and Zill, 1986).

Parallel to the rise in divorce, is a rise in the rate of out of wedlock pregnancies largely but not exclusively associated, I believe, with the growth of poverty. According to Dugger, the percentage of children born to unwed parents increased from 5 percent in 1958 to 18 percent in 1978 to 28 percent in 1988 (Dugger 1992). The vast majority of unwed mothers know the identity of the father, and many cohabit with them, but the breakup rate is higher for cohabiting than for married couples, and fewer than a fifth of unwed mothers report receiving child support for the year prior to breakup (Furstenberg 1991) (5).

To sum up, some social trends lead men to become more involved in their children's lives than their fathers or grandfathers were. Other trends lead men to become less so. A diminishing number continue the tradition of their fathers as traditional breadwinners. The overall picture is thus one of increasing diversity.

Future Trends

To be sure, in the past, there were always many ways of being a father. Fathers deserted families under the guise of seeking work, migrating, or under no guise at all. Similarly many breadwinner fathers were very emotionally engaged with their children even when it wasn't their "role" to be.

But the sheer diversity within the realm of values and behavior, and more important, the contradiction between the ideal of the new father and the reality of the disengaged dad are new,

at least in scope. This model of diversity and contradiction is likely to extend into the foreseeable future (6).

As a consequence, fathers of all sorts have a more active relationship to culture. Fatherhood is increasingly that which one "does," and less what one simply "is." As the kin system weakens its controls on both men and women, fatherhood, like much else in life, becomes more a matter of active choice. As Anthony Giddens notes in *Modernity and Self Identity*, the modern individual does not so much receive an identity as make it (Giddens 1991).

But here a certain irony unfolds. The cultural ideal of the new active father has changed much faster, especially in the middle class, than the reality of him. In a reversal of Ogburn's theory of "culture lag," we can say that for many middle-class men, there is a "reality lag." Future fathers will be "doing" their fatherhood in the shadow of this reality lag. Many middle-class men will want to be "new fathers." They will fall in love with educated women who have or want professional careers, and be able to attract such a wife partly because they are culturally prepared to be "new fathers." But forced into an inhospitable career system, many will live with a contradiction between thinking "new father" but acting "old father."

On the other hand, among working-class men, the reverse may occur. Working-class men (whose less educated wives are more likely to prefer to stay home, and who can't afford paid help) often cherish a more traditional ideal but nonetheless do a great deal with home and children (Rubin, 1976; Lamphere et al, 1993). In both cases, men are living with ideals that don't fit the reality of their lives.

In the future, we may well see the middle-class ideal of the new active father spreading, as ideals often do, down the social class ladder. This has begun already. At the same time, the working-class reality of economic necessity for two incomes, and the availability of less desirable jobs may well be rising up the class ladder. In the end, for stable couples in both classes, reality and ideal may increasingly point together toward the new active father.

New Father in What Kind of Culture?

But missing from this picture of the future, in America at least, is a set of values oriented toward children. While the United States is a youth oriented culture, it is not a child oriented one. The values of many parents reflect a contradiction which their individualism obscures. They cherish their children, but devalue the work of raising them. They focus on their children, privately, one by one, but largely ignore the social world in which they grow up.

Thus, even if more men become active fathers they may do so in a context of declining state subsidies for children, cuts in public school budgets, shortening of library hours, low wages for daycare teachers, and the absence of family-friendly reforms which would allow parents more time at home. The new father may be moving in the right direction while his society, in the last 15 years at least, moves in the wrong one.

The new father may have to move against a deeper, more long term, cultural current as well. I would argue that the terms of understanding about time, appreciation, and honor that had previously been dominant at work are increasingly, if unwittingly, adopted at home. Perhaps this is an instance of what Jurgen Habermas has called the "colonization of the life world." As a colonized sphere, the home has become less able to exert a magnetic draw on men or women, while the workplace has increased its draw.

The social and cultural trends pushing both men and women into a highly valued formerly "male" public work culture -- in which work is a major source of self appreciation, security and enjoyment -- are stronger than the trends pushing men or women into active involvement with children at home, a relatively less valued, formerly "female" realm.

Thus, regardless of gender, in much of the American middle- and even working-class, the draw of work seems to be increasing while the draw of family is decreasing and at the same time, for some, work becomes more like home (Hochschild 1994). More than we have realized, work competes with family as the "haven in the heartless world" (7).

New Fathers, New Culture of Childhood

The trends now in motion are not set in stone. Human agency -- by means of social movement, governmental action, economic policies, and social programs -- can alter, if not reverse, their course. It follows from what I have said, though, that moving men up the "daddy hierarchy" will take both social programs and a more basic cultural shift. Both will require a new alliance of progressive forces to press for them. Let me say a word about each.

Enlightened societies can foster three kinds of support to encourage active fathering. The first is a nationwide policy of work sharing, such as Germany has instituted for its citizens. Second, we could institute company based "family-friendly reforms," which offer parents more control over their work time, more flexible and shorter hours. These options include flextime, (flexibility in starting and stopping times, and the option to bank hours), flexplace (the ability to do some work at home), part time work (with bene fits, and the right to go back to full -time) job sharing (two people working one job or three people working two) and family considerations in the assignment of shift work in factories. In the last fifteen years, many large American companies have instituted family-friendly policies. In 1993, President Bill Clinton also signed into law the Family and Medical Leave Act, which permits workers in companies with 50 workers or more twelve weeks of unpaid leave.

By reducing strain, such policies can enable more fathers to live up to the ideals they already hold (6).

Second, while we can't, and probably shouldn't, prevent all divorce among parents of small children, we can turn "bad" divorces into "better" ones. To do this we can expand mediation programs and counselling services that would help young couples work out the care of their children. Frank Furstenberg calls for school programs for young men and women with models for working on their relations with each other, and negotiating the care of children.

Third, we need to create a "father-friendly" environment for preschool children in daycare centers and in homes. James Levine, head of the Father hood Project at the Families and Work Institute in New York City, notes, "often early childhood communication systems are designed -- albeit unintentionally -- to promote interaction between female parents and female staff. (Levine 1993, p. 12). In his activist booklet, *Getting Men Involved: Strategies for Early*

Childhood Programs, he poses a series of questions of daycare workers. Do you talk with fathers as they drop off and pick up their children? Do you ask parents to take turns riding in the school bus or van that takes children to daycare? Do you invite speakers to talk about problems fathers face? Do you have "men's magazines" like Auto Mechanics on the coffee table of the daycare room? Do you invite men to help fix up the daycare room?

Levine also describes what various daycare centers are actually doing. At Cardinal Spellman Head Start program in New York, fathers are asked to teach children about "cultural diversity." Chinese and Indian men prepare native foods for the children. At the Ounce of Prevention Fund in Chicago, which serves mainly minority families, organizers hire "male involvement specialists" part time. These specialists then recruit fathers and other male relatives to work with the children. The recruits then serve as class room assistants, trip chaperons, meeting facilitators and recruiters of male high school student volunteers. (Levine 1993, p. 70). In St. Louis, Missouri, a Parents As Teachers program, which serves 85,000 families, individuals pay regular visits to parents and invite them to group meetings about parenting.

Another program combines parenting classes for men estranged from their children with adult education programs, computer training and early childhood certification (8).

Most remarkable of all is a program created by the Texas Migrant Council to serve some 3,000 children of Mexican American migrant workers in 48 daycare centers. A migrant family typically travels in June from Texas to Minnesota to pick sugar beets for six or eight weeks, moves to Indiana in the summer to pick tomatoes, then to Florida to harvest citrus fruit. In the past, these migrations have prevented children from receiving stable schooling. What education they had, their fathers had little to do with. But the Head Start Daycare Program staff began to follow the migrant families from beets to tomatoes to oranges in daycare vans and buses. The schools migrated too. Moreover, a third of the teaching positions and half of the daycare centers are now directed by men, former migrant workers.

Just putting men together with children is, of course, not enough. Men interact with children differently from the way women do. Some differences are good for children, others, possibly not. Surely child specialists should be central in deciding which is which (9). But surely, too, fathers add something unique to childhood; at minimum a continuity with a certain past and exposure to a wider variety of ways of being in the world.

In addition to increasing the supply of "new fathers," we need to enrich the overall culture of childhood. With the free time family-friendly reforms in the workplace would liberate, we could enlarge and support parenting communities (10). Instead of quickly dropping their children off at daycare centers or schools, parents and adult friends of children might drop into parenting classes and help organize neighbourhood carnivals, music festivals and puppet shows. Such events could begin to help de-privatize and culturally de-colonize the family. We would have new fathers in a new child- friendly society where there is far more emotional involvement with children to go around.

To press for these reforms, we will also need to build a broad alliance of forces made up of labor unions, child advocates, feminists, local, state and federal governments, progressive businesses and such organizations as Jim Levine's Fatherhood Project. Just such organizing is now in progress in the United States and is very likely to grow in the future.

The U.S. may prove to be the "handwriting on the wall" for countries like Holland, even as the 50's childhood of Sweet Summer foretold the future of many children in America. Or it may not. Either way, the future can be one of strengthening the trends that produce daddies children feel lucky to have.

Endnotes

- (1) One purpose of the girls' conversation was to reach a consensus about what, under various circumstances, a "good" father was. One little girl, Carol, told this story about her divorced dad:

"One time my daddy came to see me and my mommy told him he couldn't take me out... and my daddy got really mad. He was yelling and when he started all that hollering, I started crying.

And my mom said to him, 'See there. See there. See what you did!'" (Campbell 1990, pp. 102-3).

"But why didn't your mother want your father to see you?," Carol is asked by a child whose (divorced) parents cooperate on matters concerning her. "He must not've paid my mommy the money."

"What money?," she is asked again. "The fathers are spozed (supposed) to pay money to the mothers to help take care of the children. Otherwise they can't come see the children. My daddy was spozed (supposed) to buy me some Easter clothes and he didn't," explains Carol (Ibid, p. 103 editor's adaptation).

"But suppose your daddy didn't have any money," another child says. The author reflects, "...we knew that fathers should take care of their children but not to be allowed to see their own kids just because they didn't always have money, this was unfair to the daddies." (Ibid, p. 102).

But her friend Carol replied, "My daddy has plenty of money. He just bought a new car." The author says to herself, "Had the money and spent it on himself and didn't give his child anything? What kind of daddy was that?"
- (2) In many societies, large families symbolize a man's virility and wealth. In addition, in many parts of the world, because of polygamy or multiple marriages, men have more children than women (in Cameroon, for example, men 50 and over averaged eight children, and women 4.8). Men also desire more children (in Cameroon, women wanted 7.3 and men 11.2) (Sachs, 1994).
- (3) The current research on fatherhood provides material and guideposts for an as yet undeveloped structural theory of fathering. Currently four approaches might be

mentioned: First, according to "interest group" feminist theory, the growth of male social emotional involvement in childrearing as a female victory in a battle against male "privilege" (Polatnick, 1974). This view is not so much wrong as partial.

Second, according to psychoanalytic feminist theory, social and emotional involvement with children is not the result of a struggle between interest groups, but the result of psychological contexts -- i.e. a product of de-gendered "mothering" (i.e. mothering shared between men and women) and a contribution to it (Chodorow, 1980). Third, a more empirical, less theoretical line of research shows that active fatherly involvement in children's lives improves their intellectual development and self esteem (Rodin, 1982).

Fourth, according to the anthropologist, Malinowski, the principle of legitimacy, linking men to claims of paternity, is key to the establishment of a wider system of social reciprocity. But if the psychoanalytic feminist theory doesn't deal with a father's emotional involvement in structural terms, Malinowski does not focus on emotional involvement.

- (4) In his study of sixty African American mothers and the fathers of their children, Frank Furstenberg found an "unambiguous and universal" norm that biological fathers are obligated to support their children materially and emotionally (Furstenberg, 1991, p. 8). But most of these poor African American young fathers nonetheless gradually lose touch with their children. Men offered different accounts for why this occurred: "It's not my child; Some one else has taken my place; My support isn't going for the child; I don't have the money; She doesn't let me see my child" (1991, p. 12-14). For their part, the young mothers argue that "men are spoiled," or "selfish, indulges," or "men can't accept the responsibilities of parenthood," and "aren't ready to become fathers" (Ibid 15). Furstenberg found a high level of mistrust between men and women. At the same time, the father and (though this was less obvious) the mother needed to form what Furstenberg calls an "umbrella contract" between the pair in order to facilitate the father-child bond.
- (5) In any society, some sub-groups become a bellwether for the rest of society. In the United States, African Americans of the 50's and 60's foretold the future for white Americans in the 1980's and 1990's. The trends that characterized African American

families earlier spread to whites later. The tendency for mothers to work outside the home, for men to share the care of the home and childrearing, (black men still do more than white men, though still less than black women) and the higher rate of non-marital pregnancy and divorce -- increasingly describe white families in American today. Even the bifurcation of fatherhoods into "new men" and "dead-beat dads" occurred first for blacks, later for whites. The reason, I believe, has to do with the absence for blacks earlier -- and for whites later -- of the central breadwinner wage for men. In a sense, then, the "new man" is not so new at all.

- (6) The cultural context of fathering in the future is thus likely to remain plural. This means that each type of father becomes the cultural context for the other. Each type of father is likely to live in a fathering subculture congenial to himself, but different kinds of fathers also know about each other's subcultures. Active fathers see films, hear stories about, have friends who are -- and perhaps themselves once were -- "dead-beat dads." For their part, dead-beat dads see films, hear stories about or have friends who are, or were once themselves, new fathers. They compare themselves to other kinds of fathers. They define themselves as more or less lucky, emotionally richer or poorer in relation to active fathers. Just as unionized companies set the context for non-union companies, and the communist world once set the context for the capitalist world, so different realities of father hood set the context for each other. This "context-setting" is as important as the diversity on which it is based.
- (7) This is because the family has become more like a "workplace;" often the tired worker returns to unwashed dishes, unmet human needs, and no time to relax. Ironically, the emotional engineers of late capitalism have made the workplace for some people in certain ways more like "home." One can chat and joke with co-workers, get help with problems, and feel appreciated for one's skills (Hochschild, 1994).
- (8) Levine suggests making a space on the daycare admissions application where a mother can identify the "significant male" in the family. He recommends starting "Dad and Me" groups throughout cities and using school bus drivers who have frequent contact with parents to help recruit fathers into activities.

- (9) Research indicates that fathers do more play, women provide more care. Fathers tend to pay more attention to boys whereas mothers tend not to differentiate. Fathers sexualize their relations with girls more, and make more sexual differentiations than mothers do. Off hand, it would seem that the focus on play is fine, sexualization not fine, sexual identification fine, sexual role-pegging not fine, and so on.
- (10) As Michael Lamb notes, having fewer hours at the office doesn't necessarily mean more hours at home. For each extra hour a woman doesn't have to work, she puts in an extra 40-45 minutes at home. For each extra hour a man doesn't have to work, he puts in less than 20 minutes at home (Lamb, 1986, p. 22; Pleck, 1983). But twenty minutes is twenty minutes, a good place to start.

References

- Anderson, Elihah (1990), *StreetWise: Race, Class and Change in an Urban Community*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press.
- Arendell, Terry (1968), *Mothers and Divorce*. Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press.
- _____ (1992) After Divorce: Investigations into Father Absence. *Gender and Society*, 9, 4, pp. 562-86.
- Bourdieu, Pierre (1984), *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. Harvard University Press, Cambridge MA.
- Campbell, Bebe Moore (1990), *Sweet Summer: Growing Up With and Without My Dad*. New York and London: Harper Collins.
- Chodorow, Nancy (1980), *The Reproduction of Mothering*. Berkeley CA: University of California Press.
- Cutright, Phillips (1986), Child Support and Responsible Male Procreative Behavior. *Sociological Focus*, 19, 1, pp. 27-45.
- Dugger, Celia W. (1992), *Establishing Paternity Earlier to Gain Child Support Later*. New York Times, 3, A1-B6.
- Ehrenreich, Barbara (1983), *The Hearts of Men: American Dreams and The Flight From Commitment*. Garden City NY: Anchor Books.
- Furstenberg, Frank Jr., C. Nord, P. Peterson and N. Zill (1983), The Life Course of Children of Divorce: Marital Disruption and Parental Contact. *American Sociological Review*, 48, pp. 656-668.
- _____ (1991), *Daddies and Fathers: Men Who Do for Their Children and Men Who Don't*. Unpublished paper, Sociology Department, University of Pennsylvania.
- _____ and Andrew Cherlin (1991), *Divided Families: What Happens to Children When Parents Part*. Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press.
- Gerson, Kathleen (1993), *No Man's Land: Men's Changing Commitments to Family*. NY: Basic Books.
- Giddens, Anthony (1991), *Modernity and Self-Identity: Self and Society in The Late Modern Age*. Stanford CA: Stanford University Press.
- Goldscheider, Frances K. and Linda J. Waite (1991), *New Families, No Families? The Transformation of the American Home*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of

California Press.

- Hareven, Tamara (1975), Family Time and Industrial Time: Family and Work in a Planned Corporation Town, 1900-1924. *Journal of Urban History*, 1, pp. 365-89.
- Hertz, Rosanna (1986), *More Equal Than Others: Women and Men in Dual Career Marriages*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Hochschild, Arlie with Anne Machung (1989), *The Second Shift: Working Parents and the Revolution at Home*. NY: Avon Books.
- _____, Lydia Morris and Stina Lyon (ed) (1994), *Gender Relations in Public and Private: Changing Research Perspectives*. London: MacMillan Publishers (forthcoming).
- Lamb, Michael E. (edited) (1986), *The Father's Role: Applied Perspectives*. John Wiley & Sons, NY: Wiley-Interscience Publication.
- Lamphere, Louise et al (1993), *Sunbelt Working Mothers*. Itaca NY: Cornell University Press.
- Levine, James A. et al (1993), *Getting Men Involved: Strategies for Early Childhood Programs*. NY: Scholastic Inc., Early Childhood Division.
- Malinowski, Bronislaw (1930), The Principle of Legitimacy. In: *The New Generation*. V.F. Calverton and S.D. Schmalhausen, eds, N.Y., Macauley Co., pp. 113-55.
- Peterson, James and Nicholas Zill (1986), Marital Disruption, Parent-Child Relationships, and Behavior Problems in Children, *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 48, pp. 295-307.
- Pleck, Joseph H. (1983), Husbands' Paid Work and Family Roles: Current Research Issues. In: H. Lopata and J.H. Pleck (eds), *Research in the Interweave of Social Roles*, 3, Families and Jobs, Greenwich CT: JAI Press.
- _____, (1985), *Working Wives, Working Husbands*. Beverly Hills, London, New Delhi: Sage Publishers.
- Polatnick, Margaret (1974), Why Men Don't Rear Children: A Power Analysis. *Berkeley Journal of Sociology*, 18, pp. 45-86.
- Rodin, Norma and Araeme Russell (1982), Increased Father Participation and Child Development Outcomes. In: *Nontraditional Families: Parenting and Child Development*, edited by M.E. Lamb, Hillsdale NJ: Erlbaum Publishers, pp. 191-218.
- Rubin, Lillian B. (1976), *Worlds of Pain: Life in the Working-Class Family*. NY: Basic Books.
- Sachs, Aaron (1994), Men, Sex and Parenthood in an Overpopulating World. *World Watch*, 7, 2, pp. 12-19.
- Schor, Juliet (1992), *The Overworked American*. NY: Basic Books.
- Segal, Lynne (1990), *Slow Motion: Changing Masculinities, Changing Men*. New Brunswick

NH: Rutgers University Press.

Wallerstein, Judith S. and Sandra Blakeslee (1989), *Second Changes: Men, Women, and Children A Decade After Divorce*. NY: Ticknor and Fields.

Weitzman, Lenore (1985), *The Divorce Revolution: The Unexpected Social and Economic Consequences for Women and Children in America*. NY: Free Press.

Bibliotheek K. U. Brabant



17 000 01333823 2